

AMERICAN EDUCATION AND THE COUNTER INSURGENCY EFFORTS DURING THE
PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR
(1899 – 1902)

by
Orrin H. Hasal

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Abstract

During the Philippine-American War, the Filipino insurrectionists waged an insurgency against the American colonial government. Though, the US military was clearly stronger, it took more than military might to win the war. The American forces used civil services to gain the support of the population, a critical objective of a successful counter-insurgency (COIN) campaign. One civil service program that contributed successfully during the war was education. Initially, the military leadership used education to pacify the population. Later, it was used by the civilian leadership to help Filipinos towards self-governance and economic prosperity. This dichotomy on the application of education seemed contradictory. Whether the Americans were aware of its effect, it created a wedge between the insurrectionists and the Filipino population.

Unlike the recent COIN efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq where the US did not influence the curriculum of schools, the Filipino school system was controlled by the Americans. This helped shape the Filipino perception of the colonial government and ultimately led to its acceptance. It is interesting to note that in its quest to colonize the Philippines, Spain also instituted an education program, but with notable differences. The purpose and applications were dissimilar. For instance, Spain dedicated limited educational resources and did not see the importance of a common language. The Americans however, did see the efficacy of a common language, and made it compulsory to use English as the medium for instruction. This facilitated the success of education, binding the population to the colonial government. The enduring effects are reflected in today's Filipino population and school system.

This research study was undertaken to determine if education contributed in any way to America's fight against the Filipino insurrection. This would include COIN efforts such as

separating the population from the insurgency, achieving acceptance from the population through participation in self-governance, etc. A Within-case analysis was conducted to determine if American-led education contributed to the American COIN efforts during the Philippine-American War.

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Introduction

On 27 April 1898, the US Asiatic Squadron led by Admiral George Dewey entered Manila Bay, Philippines. Spying the Spanish Fleet at Sangley Point, the American squadron waited until daybreak before attacking. The Spanish fleet was no match for Dewey's squadron. The Americans easily defeated the Spanish fleet that morning, and Spain's naval presence in the Far East ended. This event set off a jubilant and celebrated victory in the United States. Shortly thereafter the Spanish-American War ended, and the US and Spain signed a peace treaty. Through the Paris Treaty, America took possession of the Philippines from Spain. There was no representation from the Filipinos who had been fighting for independence from Spain. Capitalizing on the acquisition of the island, the United States expanded its reach for trade in the Far East and set out to colonize the Philippines. This did not sit well with the people of the Philippines and soon led to the Philippine-American War.

The US was not alone in its quest to expand national interest. Western great powers have been on an imperial march across the globe long before the US defeated Spain. England was trying to maintain its hold in South Africa against insurgents in the Boer war. The Dutch were fighting a stubborn insurgency in Aceh which lasted from 1873 to 1913.¹ Although, the US may have been a newcomer to the imperial playing field, experience learned from the American Civil War and the American Indian Wars had likely served them in pacification efforts during the Philippines-American War.²

Between 1865 and 1877, the US Army conducted restoration programs to facilitate peace and normalization back to the South after the US Civil War. Commanders of the US Army used

¹ Hans Baker. *Great Powers and Little Wars*. (Westport: Greenwood, 1993), p 53

² There is evidence of the lessons learned from these wars. They were recorded and stored for study at military institutions such as the School of Application for Infantry and Cavalry at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. These lessons included the application of civil services and its role in pacifying a population.

civic programs such as enforcing sanitary requirements and building schools for both black and white Southerners to speed up recovery³. They were aided by the War Department's Freedmen's Bureau, established by Congress in 1865. During 1887, the US used pacification programs to address the "Indian Problem". US Army officers believed that education and land ownership were key enablers that could be used to integrate Native Americans into mainstream American society.⁴

When the United States annexed the Philippine Islands through a \$20 million purchase from Spain, it inherited a population that was fighting for self-rule.⁵ It became apparent to the US military that the Filipinos were not in favor of being colonized. Moreover, it had become apparent to the Filipinos that the United States was not going to allow independence and self-rule. What followed was a protracted and brutal war between Filipino nationalists and the United States.

Aware of America's strength, the General of the Philippine Republican Army (and first President of the Philippines), Emilio Aguinaldo resorted to an insurgent/guerrilla war.⁶ No longer able to openly receive help from the population, the insurgency depended on the population's surreptitious support for continued provisions in material, information, fighters, and safe-haven.

The United States conducted one of its most successful counter-insurgencies (COIN) campaigns during the Philippine-American War that lasted from 1899 to 1902. America's

³ Andrew Birtle. *US Army Counter-Insurgency and Contingency Operations: 1860-1941*. Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, 1998, p 56.

⁴ Andrew Birtle. *US Army Counter-Insurgency and Contingency Operations: 1860-1941*. Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, 1998, p 82.

⁵ Leon Wolff. *Little Brown Brother*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1960, p 210.

⁶ Emilio Aguinaldo was a controversial leader. He was not a uniting force amongst all the Filipinos. There were divisions in their cause. He was considered an opportunist who brokered no challenge to his rule, and he was also known to make poor tactical military decisions.

success was attributed to its military and civil services which helped gain the acceptance of the Filipino population. Civil services included the organization of schools and American led education. Prior to the American colonization, the Spanish established a school system in the Philippines.

The Spanish school system started in 1595. Early curriculum consisted mainly of religious instruction based on Christianity. The purpose was to keep converts faithful to the church. Although the Spanish language was part of the curriculum it was seldom taught. The priest, who were in charge of the schools, found it more convenient to learn the local dialects to communicate with their followers.⁷ Filipinos showed eagerness to learn Spanish, but the quality of teaching was poor because it was led by fellow students who barely knew the Spanish language. Efforts to improve the quality and access to education were made through Spanish the Decree of 1868.

A training school for teachers was created to provide training for teachers. Vocational schools, primary and secondary schools were offered to all children, and universities were established. However, in reality only the elite had the wealth to attend Universities. In addition, the education system was in disrepair due to a shortage of trained teachers, funds, and supplies. More importantly, the teaching of Spanish to the masses was not followed.⁸

When the US first established its education system in the Philippines, the only schools that were organized were for primary education with a focus on the English language. As the system grew, vocational training, secondary schooling and Universities were added. This had a positive impact on the population. Through this particular civil service, Filipinos were able to

⁷ Encarnacion Alzona. A History of Education in the Philippines: 1565-1930. Manila, Univ of Philippine Press, 1932, p 19.

⁸ Rowena Q. Bailon. Interviewed by Orrin Hasal. Personal Interview. Quezon City, Philippines, Feb 24, 2020.

learn a trade and send their children to school. English was the primary subject required to be taught in the school system and eventually became one of the official languages of the country.⁹

The purpose of this research paper is to explore the effects education had on the American counter-insurgency efforts during the Philippine-American War. In what ways did education contributed to the counter-insurgency efforts? This question will be answered through qualitative analysis methods.

⁹ Napoleon Casambre. "The Impact of American Education in the Philippines." *Educational Perspectives* 21, no. 4: 7-15. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/47216>. Constitution for English as an official language.

Literature Review

During the Philippine-American war, American education affected the lives of the Filipino people especially those who could not read or write.¹⁰ Education opened opportunities for the poor such as employment in the American colonial system. This was not usually the case during the Spanish era in the Philippines. Education was segregated and fostered an elite class of Filipinos called *Ilustrados*. These were educated Filipino men who attended secondary schools and pursued advance studies in Universities in countries such as Spain. It was from this “enlightened” class of Filipinos where the root of nationalism and the desire for independence from Spain began.¹¹ Others believed that education helped assimilate Filipinos towards American values but in doing so, it also sacrificed a part of their Filipino culture and identity.¹²

Various COIN theorists have opined the value of civil services such as education as an instrument to pacify the population. One such theorist was David Galula. As one of the most well-known authors of modern day COIN, Galula stated civil services are an integral part of controlling and influencing the population.¹³ An example of how education was used was during the war with Japan (WWII). The Japanese instituted their education program amongst the Filipino populations.¹⁴ Though short in duration, the Japanese attempted to influence through a curriculum designed to counter American and British influence. This included teaching Japanese and other courses that espoused the greatness of Asian cooperativeness.¹⁵

¹⁰ Rowena Q. Bailon. Interviewed by Orrin Hasal. Personal Interview. Quezon City, Philippines, Feb 24, 2020.

¹¹ Claire Aguinaldo. “History of Philippine Education System.” Claire Aguinaldo. <https://claireaguinaldo.wordpress.com/>, (Accessed 30 March 2020).

¹² Vincent L. Rafael. *Motherless Tongues: The Insurgency of Language amid Wars and Translation*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2016, p 54-58.

¹³ David Galula. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Greenwood, 1964, p 59.

¹⁴ Rory Dacumos. 2015. *Philippine Colonial Education System*. Ebook. Nagoya: Nagoya University. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280610684_Philippine_Colonial_Education_System

¹⁵ Rory Dacumos. 2015. *Philippine Colonial Education System*. Ebook. Nagoya: Nagoya University. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280610684_Philippine_Colonial_Education_System

Galula's works are essential readings for many COIN academies. They have been studied and applied by practitioners on the battlefields of Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Galula asserted that the counter-insurgent must achieve several concepts to separate the insurgent from the population. By doing so, the counter-insurgent would gain the support needed to deny the insurgents recruitment, safehaven, and supplies. In his book *Counter Insurgency – Theory and Practice*, Galula proffered concepts that deny the insurgent the support of the population. Some of these overarching concepts are influence, communication, intensity of effort, and control. A summary of these concepts are discussed in the preceding paragraphs.

According to Galula, it is necessary to influence the population away from the insurgent cause, e.g. cease support of the insurgency, do not take up arms against the government, etc. Influence can be achieved by gaining the population's trust. Counter-insurgents usually embark on a series of civil services such as education and healthcare to earn the trust of the population. To prove the legitimacy of the host government, the population must know that the efforts to improve their lives were carried out by the government.¹⁶ Whereas if the government failed to provide basic needs, it would likely be perceived as a failure in the eyes of the population. This would give an exploitable opportunity to the insurgent.

Galula asserted that if the counter-insurgent is unable to communicate with the population, he would fail in his mission.¹⁷ The insurgent's target is the population. His primary weapon is the control of information to the people. This is also the case for the counter-insurgent. Having a common means of communication, knowing who the levers of power are, and understanding the needs and motivations of the population are critical to communicating

¹⁶ David Galula. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Greenwood, 1964, p 54.

¹⁷ David Galula. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Greenwood, 1964, p x.

effectively. Galula placed more emphasis on information operations than on kinetic military actions. COIN is as much a battle of ideals as it is the destruction of the insurgents. When the US first established public schools in the Philippines, English became the medium of instruction.

Galula also argued the necessity for efforts to be concentrated and applied successively area by area rather than diluted and spread thinly over the country. Its intended effect would likely be diminished. He categorized this COIN concept as “The intensity of efforts and vastness of means.”¹⁸ To illustrate, General Franklin Bell effectively provided education resources to the Filipinos within his region by means of the Concentration Plan. By displacing the population and clustering them into concentrated areas, he physically separated the people from the insurrectionists. By doing so, he was able to focus his resources efficiently. This allowed the Army to provide better protection for the population, and for civil services to function unimpeded by the disruptions of insurrectionists.¹⁹

However, in order to assemble civil services for the population and return the area to normalcy, it was usually the soldiers who were first to be tasked with becoming police officers, teachers, or administrators until the situation allowed for civilians to assume those responsibilities. This was a tactical necessity discussed by Galula in which soldiers often had to be dual-hatted.²⁰ As the US began organizing schools in the Philippines, the first teachers were US soldiers.

The counter-insurgent must control the population in order to separate them from insurgents. This can be done through physical control, but also through political control. The objective is to gain support of the population. Galula illustrated how an insurgency is a two-

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ David Galula. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Greenwood, 1964, p 62.

²⁰ Ibid.

dimensional battle fought for the control of the population.²¹ He described how Communist China used harsh techniques of terror and mutual suspicion to control the population. This was effective in preventing the West and the Nationalist Chinese from developing insurgencies behind the “Red Curtain”.²²

In contrast, using civil services such as education is a means to control the population. Particularly making English compulsory in the classrooms and as a prerequisite to employment within the colonial government. This in effect binds the population to the government and the daily routines of colonial life.

David Galula could have expounded on vulnerabilities of delivering civil services. For example, corruption within the education system could lead to inadequate services and the loss of public trust. The inability of the government to provide basic needs could be perceived negatively by the population, thus hurting the overall COIN campaign. Worst, it could present an opportunity for the insurgents to exploit.

The hard-earned trust and confidence of the population could be vulnerable to the negative actions of COIN forces. For instance, Author Andrew Birtle discussed how an undercurrent of tensions could separate the counter-insurgent from the people no matter how small.²³ Instances of criminal and racial abuses by American forces against the Filipino population were well founded, such as rape, murder, and theft. During the course of the war, these acts of criminal behavior were never stamped out.

The Impact of US Education in the Philippines by scholar Napoleon J. Casmbre discussed how education influenced the Filipinos. Filipinos became confident, enlightened, and

²¹ David Galula. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Greenwood, 1964, p 21.

²² David Galula. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Greenwood, 1964, p 17.

²³ Andrew Birtle. *US Army Counter-Insurgency and Contingency Operations: 1860-1941*. Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, 1998, p 123.

empowered to govern themselves. He argued that it was necessary for the American-led colonial government to willingly grant independence to the Filipinos. Had it not done so, the people may have sought violent alternatives. Fortunately, it was the intent of the US Government to push the Filipinos towards self-rule. In Galula's writings, self-governance by the host nation is an end-state of modern day COIN.

Author Glen Anthony May wrote *Social Engineering in the Philippines*. He stated that most studies about America's undertaking to reform education in the Philippines were of great value to the Filipino population. However, he noted that because of the lack of continuity in the military and civilian government in the Philippines, some parts of the education strategy were poorly conceived and executed. For instance, administrators and directors with the Bureau of Education did not agree on the type of curriculum appropriate for the Filipinos, and both parties often times pursued contradicting policies.²⁴

²⁴ Glenn M. Anthony. *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aim Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy 1900 – 1913*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980, p 77.

Hypothesis and Methodology

Research Question: How did American-led education contribute to the counter-insurgency efforts during the Philippine-American War?

Null Hypothesis (H_0): Education instituted by the United States and delivered to the Filipino school system had no effect on the counter-insurgency efforts during the Philippine-American War.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_a): Education established by the United States contributed to the counter-insurgency efforts against the insurrectionists during the Philippine-American War.

The model developed for this methodology will rely on a Within-case analysis. An in-depth research will be conducted to collect any relevant information that pertained to US education during the Philippine-American War. The objective is to produce a chronological narrative and compare it to Galula's ideals of some of the overarching concepts of COIN such as, influence, communication, intensity of effort, and control. This would accomplish two requirements: First, it will answer the research question. Second, the results of the analysis will provide information that will either reject or accept the null hypothesis. The analysis will focus on tracing and recording a series of observations that have promoted education during the war, e.g. government policies, teachers, compulsory courses, population reactions, curriculum, school construction, etc.²⁵ The following is an outline of the methodology:

- A. Analysis of observations based on the integration of US education into the Filipino school system.

²⁵ Collier, David, *Teaching Process Tracing: Exercises and Examples* (October 1, 2011). PS: Political Science and Politics, Vol. 44, No. 4, October 2011, p 824 (Lerner 1958).

- B. Each observation represents a snapshot, or a slice of reality that is captured at that time.
- C. Each observation is as crucial building block for building a narrative in chronological order.
- D. Cognizant for any changes in the education system from 1898 to post war.
- E. List overarching concepts of counter-insurgency and group the observations accordingly.
- Influence
 - Communication
 - Intensity of Efforts
 - Control
- F. Tease out the meaning of the changes that could provide insight on how it related to the overarching COIN concepts.
- G. Did these changes contribute to the COIN during the Philippine-American War?

Data

I used the following guide as a means for data collection which was based on the studies of the overarching COIN concepts discussed earlier (*Influence, Communication, Intensity of Effort, and Control*). In some cases, the data that was collected coincided with multiple COIN concepts. Data that showed reforms to the school curriculum were treated as a concept of *Influence*. Those related to the population's perception of curriculum reforms were also included under the category of *Influence*, e.g. opportunities for employment, improvements in their quality of life.

Data that depicted language reforms such as the use of English as the medium for instruction was categorized under the concept of *Communication* as well as *Control*. If there were any indications of acceptance of the curriculum, I categorized this as both *Influence* and *Intensity of Effort (IE)*. This would include primary, secondary schools, and also trade schools that gave Filipinos the opportunity for employment. Data related to the concepts of *Control* and *IE* included the following: an increase in the number of schools and the demand for resources (teachers, supplies, classrooms). Data that indicated Filipinos employed as teachers or who desired to become teachers were included in both *IE and Influence*.

Any vocational training was considered part of education, and was thus included as concepts of *Control* and *IE*. The school administration officials in the Philippines were primarily Americans, but the intent of the US policy makers was to push the Philippines towards self-governance. Following this logic, it seemed reasonable to expect a shift not only with the people in the political administration, but also within the educational administration. I listed this data under the concept of *Influence*.

Regarding the data and sources used for this research study, there were limitations to be aware of. There were several instances in which the data from different sources conflicted with each other, e.g. dates and terminology. In addition, there was a potential for bias from some of the sources, e.g. nationalism, imperialism. To address these limitations, I triangulated the data to determine the best source and made note of it.

Because of the period in which this war took place, it was important to put the data into the context of time. In other words, to understand the meaning of the data with respect to the time frame and source of data. A primary archived source from the 1900s would have called the Filipinos who rose up against the Americans as insurgents. Whereas Filipino scholars today would argue against that label and opt for a name along the lines of freedom fighter.²⁶

The following represents the data collected. It includes observations from the beginning of the war to post war (1898 – 1903). They are organized in chronological order. Each observation has been categorized by one or more of the COIN concepts.

May to August 1898: After the defeat of the Spanish, the US Army set up their first school for children on the island of Corregidor. The first military governor of the Philippines, Major General Wesley Merritt, promised complete protection of all educational institutions. Education changed significantly under the US regime. Set by policymakers, the cornerstone of the curriculum was to use English as the medium of instruction.²⁷ Within three weeks, seven more schools were reopened each with their own English teacher.²⁸ As towns became part of the

²⁶ Rowena Q. Bailon. Interviewed by Orrin Hasal. Personal Interview. Quezon City, Philippines, Feb 24, 2020.

²⁷ Vincent L. Rafael. *Motherless Tongues: The Insurgency of Language amid Wars and Translation*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2016, p 34.

²⁸ Encarnacion Alzona. *A History of Education in the Philippines: 1565-1930*. Manila, Univ of Philippine Press, 1932, p 186.

colony, schools were established. The first educators were American enlisted soldiers while officers became superintendents. The school system was supervised by military chaplains.^{29,30}

Control

January 1899: On January 1899, United States President William McKinley created the first Philippine Commission also known as the Schurman Commission. It was followed by the second commission on March 1900 known as the Taft Commission. The purpose was to assess the “situation on the ground” and provide recommendations for the governance of the newly acquired island. The first commission consisted of five members: Jacob Schurman (chairperson), Elwel Otis, George Dewey, Charles Denby, and Dean Worcester.

The importance of this commission (for the purpose of this study) was two-fold. First, it provided the granularity needed to understand the condition of the educational system. Second, it recommended changes and improvements in the education system (reference observation January 1900). During this time, it became increasingly difficult for the Army to establish and organize the schools even as the commission was conducting its study. Increasing tensions between the Filipinos and Americans were edging towards the start of the Philippine-American war.³¹ *Communication*

February 1899: After several tense and belligerent confrontations, hostilities between the Filipino and American forces broke out precipitating the Philippine-American War. The census

²⁹ Napoleon Casambre. “The Impact of American Education in the Philippines.” Educational Perspectives 21, no. 4: 7-15. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/47216>.

³⁰ Maria Acierto. “American Influence :Shaping Philippine Secondary Education,” Historical Perspective 1898 – 1978. PhD diss., Loyola Univ of Chicago, Jun 1980, Text-Fiche, Main Library, Univ of Philippines, 1 of 4, MFI 464, p60.

³¹ Napoleon Casambre. “The Impact of American Education in the Philippines.” Educational Perspectives 21, no. 4: 7-15. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/47216>.

of US controlled schools in Feb 1899 was 4,000 students. The number of public schools controlled by the US was 39.³² *Control*

April 1899: The Army used a mixture of reward and punishment to control the population. Officially, the name for this strategy was “Policy of Attraction and Policy of Chastisement”. Both were used to achieve the end-state of population pacification. For instance, providing education and constructing school houses were rewards for those who supported the colonial government. Jail and confiscation of personal property were examples of chastisements. The insurrectionist leadership was worried about this program and its potential to harm the cause of the insurgency.³³ *Influence*

June 1899: General Elwell S. Otis, then Military Governor of the Philippines issued General Order 43. The purpose of this order was to control the population. Otis believed that the population could be controlled by establishing services to the villages. Army officers or local mayors were appointed to villages. Police and village councils were elected from the local population. To win the people over, schools, post offices, and judicial houses were built. By improving civil services, it was hoped the perception of the people would be positive about America’s intentions.³⁴ *Control, Influence*

August - September 1899: A notable educator from Yale Divinity School and former US soldier during the Spanish-American War in the Philippines, George D. Anderson was discharged from the Army in Manila and appointed the superintendent of schools in Manila.

³² “American Contribution to Philippine Education: 1898-1998”, Philippine Free Press, Manila, 23 Aug 1920, p 6.

³³ Andrew Birtle. *US Army Counter-Insurgency and Contingency Operations: 1860-1941*. Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, 1998, p 123.

³⁴ Christopher M. Redgraves. “African American Soldiers in the Philippine War: An Examination of the Contributions of Buffalo Soldiers during the Spanish-American War and its Aftermath, 1898-1902.” PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2017, p 55.

Education was offered for adults included typewriting skills, stenography, teachers of history, and a class for civil-service preparation (employment within the colonial government). In the city (Manila) night schools were held. The demand for these classes was so high that hundreds of applicants were turned away. To accommodate the demand, the schedule of night school sessions was increased from three to six nights a week and the number of night schools increased to 11 by September 1899. The student census was 1,800.³⁵

The professionalization of Filipino teachers and the generous salary attracted some of the brightest. As of September 1899, Filipino teacher's salaries ranged from \$20 to \$50 in gold a month. This was equivalent to clerks working in the colonial government. Under the Spanish system, they made half of that amount.³⁶ After a year of teacher training, many have mastered the English language well enough to teach it. An association of Filipino teachers was formed for the purpose of professionalizing their work, and the study of their profession. *IE, Influence*

January 1900: The 49th Infantry (Buffalo Soldiers) arrived in the Philippines on January 1900. During one incident in a barrio in Northern Luzon, Filipinos observed the 49th raising the Stars and Stripes at the local school. Impressed by this show of military discipline and the soldier's respect to "Old Glory", villagers requested flags to be raised at their schools. The men of the 49th perceived this as a sign of loyalty and honored the request of the villagers. A grand fiesta took place with the raising of the US flag at another school. The school children sang "My Country Tis of Thee". They followed with reciting the Pledge of Allegiance taught to them in

³⁵ US Philippine Commission. *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President January 31, 1900*. University of Santo Tomas, Philippines: Washington Govt Printing Office, 1900, p 140.

³⁶ Ibid.

school. According to the author, the men must have thought that if nothing, this was definitely a positive sign for peace.³⁷

The Schurman Commission (reference February 1899) recommended the following institutions be established to help govern the Philippines: a civil government, a two-house legislature, and a public school system. President McKinley sent to the commission a series of regulative principles to be included in the commission's proclamation. Item ten of the regulative principles stated the following: "Effective provision will be made for the establishment of elementary schools, in which the children may be educated and appropriate facilities will be provided for a higher education."³⁸

Some deficiencies were noted by the commission. They found that English was gradually becoming the language of schools, but in order to establish it as the common language of instruction, the school system had to have better management and organization. In addition, Manila being the seat of power of the colonial government and the capital of the Philippines only had three buildings for primary schooling. The city had 11 districts servicing 247,000 people.³⁹

Influence, IE, Control

March 1900: The second Philippine Commission was created on 16 March 1900, replacing the first commission. Referred to as the Taft Commission, it was named after William H. Taft who

³⁷ Christopher M. Redgraves. "African American Soldiers in the Philippine War: An Examination of the Contributions of Buffalo Soldiers during the Spanish-American War and its Aftermath, 1898-1902." PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2017, p 256.

³⁸ US Philippine Commission. *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President January 31, 1900*. University of Santo Tomas, Philippines: Washington Govt Printing Office, 1900.

³⁹ US Philippine Commission. *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President January 31, 1900*. University of Santo Tomas, Philippines: Washington Govt Printing Office, 1900, p 139.

was its head. Scholars credited the commission with establishing the basis for the current education system in the Philippines.⁴⁰

With the creation of the second Philippine Commission, the transition from military to civilian control of the Philippines occurred. With it came a shift in educational objectives. These can be summarized by then Secretary of War, Elihu Root, “its fundamental principle was that the Filipinos should control their own affairs insofar as possible...elementary education would be free and compulsory, with English the official language.”⁴¹ Instead of using education primarily as a pacification instrument, it became an impetus towards Filipino self-governance.

The objective of education was outlined as follows:

- Teach children civic responsibilities.
- Develop good and responsible character.
- Include industrial and art courses.
- English is used to teach the children.
- The children must learn to read and write in English.

According to scholar Maria Acierto, the purpose of making English the language of instruction was to unify the people through a common language. English would train the people in the ways of democracy, for it is the language of democratic governments.⁴² *IE, Communication*

⁴⁰ Encarnacion Alzona. *A History of Education in the Philippines: 1565-1930*. Manila, Univ of Philippine Press, 1932, p 189.

⁴¹ Leon Wolff. *Little Brown Brother*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1960, p 308.

⁴² Maria Acierto. “American Influence Shaping Philippine Secondary Education” *An Historical Perspective 1898 – 1978*. PhD diss., Loyola Univ of Chicago, Jun 1980, Text-Fiche, Main Library, Univ of Philippines, 1 of 4, MFI 464, p 64.

May 1900: General Elwell S. Otis, another veteran of the American Civil War, lost command of the Army in the Philippines and was relieved by General Arthur MacArthur (father of General Douglas MacArthur). MacArthur understood the unconventional nature of the war and approached it using two lines of effort. First, to destroy the insurrectionists and second to influence the Filipinos towards American rule. MacArthur used education as a means to win the people over. He considered the use of education as an appendage to military operations.⁴³

Control, Influence

July 1900: From a captured insurgent document, there was evidence that the insurrectionist leadership were concerned about effectiveness of America's influencing programs. The document discussed the lack of support for the cause amongst the population, and attributed it to the American deceptive programs. The author was likely referring to the civic service programs such as the education programs.^{44,45} *Influence*

Sep 1900: The consensus of enrolled children reached 100,000 in public schools supervised by the US Army. Supplies provided for the schools totaled \$100,000, including books, pencils, paper, desks, and US flags. Supplies and other needs for the education program were not adequate as student enrollment and schools increased in numbers.⁴⁶ *Control, IE*

Oct 1900: General Franklin Bell established the Concentration Program to separate the population from the insurrectionists into centralized locations. This ensured better control and protection of the civilians. It also cut off contact with the insurrectionists. Schools and churches

⁴³ Christopher M. Redgraves. "African American Soldiers in the Philippine War: An Examination of the Contributions of Buffalo Soldiers during the Spanish-American War and its Aftermath, 1898-1902." PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2017, p 60.

⁴⁴ Dimatigtig. Insurgent Records, microfilm 254 MCF 3754

⁴⁵ Milagros C. Guerrero. *Luzon at War: Contradictions in Philippine Society 1898-1902*. Mandaluyong: Anvil Publishing Inc., 2015, p 60.

⁴⁶ Glenn M. Anthony. *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aim Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy 1900 – 1913*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980, p 79.

were established in these controlled civilian centers.⁴⁷ Infantry units of the 24th and 25th (Buffalo Soldiers) built schools to strengthen ties with the local population. The curriculum especially English lessons connected the people to the colonial government.⁴⁸ *Control, Influence, Communication, IE*

Dec 1900: “Undoubtedly a well-directed system of education will prove to be one of the most forceful agencies for elevating the Filipinos, materially, socially, and morally, and preparing them for a large participation in the affairs of the government.” Philippine Commission Report 1900.⁴⁹ *IE*

March 1901: In response to the first commission’s findings, the Education Act also known as Act 74 was passed by the second Philippine Commission. Act 74 was the first effort to systematically organize the school system.⁵⁰ It was drafted by Fred Atkinson, a notable Harvard educator, author, and general superintendent of Public Instruction in the Philippines. Several amendments would be made to Act 74 in order to address the needs of the school system. The act organized the school system in the following ways:

- The former Bureau of Education was renamed Department of Public Instruction.
- Authorized the hiring of 1,000 teachers.
- The Department of Public Instruction was given control and supervision of all public schools. A superintendent was assigned to each school district.

⁴⁷ Christopher M. Redgraves. “African American Soldiers in the Philippine War: An Examination of the Contributions of Buffalo Soldiers during the Spanish-American War and its Aftermath, 1898-1902.” PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2017, p 60.

⁴⁸ Christopher M. Redgraves. “African American Soldiers in the Philippine War: An Examination of the Contributions of Buffalo Soldiers during the Spanish-American War and its Aftermath, 1898-1902.” PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2017, p 210.

⁴⁹ United States. Philippine Commission. Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901.

⁵⁰United States. Philippine Commission. Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War. Washington D.C.:U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901, p 133.

- As soon as practical, English would be made the basis for instructions.
- Supervisory and local school boards were created to help manage the schools.
- Each school district was taxed to support the schools in their jurisdiction.
- Provided free education at the primary level to all children.
- Increased the number of school division from 16 to 36.
- Prohibited the teaching of religious subjects in public schools with some exceptions to accommodate religious freedom.⁵¹
- Established the Trade and Normal School in Manila. Established the Agricultural School in the island of Negros.

IE, Influence

August 1901: As the public school system expanded in the Philippines, supplies, finances, and the number of teachers were needed. The limited amount of teachers from the Army and Filipinos who could speak English were not enough to fulfil the demand from the areas controlled by the US. To address the needs for teachers, the Taft Commission (second Philippine Commission) imported teachers from the US.

Hired and having received teaching appointments from the US Civil Service Commission, American teachers arrived in Manila on the USAT Thomas in August 1901.⁵² This batch of teachers was known as the Thomasites (from the ship's namesake). The first group was about 600 in number (60 family members included).⁵³ The name Thomasites became synonymous with the waves of American teachers that followed. Other American teachers were

⁵¹ Glenn May. *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aim, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy 1900-1913*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 1980, p 79.

⁵² American Contribution to Philippine Education: 1898 – 1998 (Manila: The Philippine Free Press, 1920), p 6.

⁵³ Ibid.

family members of Thomasites who stayed after the death of their spouse and were hired as teachers. Some were soldiers serving in the Philippines. When their service was completed, they stayed and discharged in Manila to become teachers or school administrators. According to Galula, the work of civil services done by soldiers should be turned over to a civilian at the most opportune time. For civilians are likely to be better at taking care of civilian jobs.⁵⁴

The Americans who taught in the Philippines came from diverse backgrounds and races. Many were graduates of prestigious educational institutions such as Yale and Harvard. Some served in the US military and fought in Cuba as members of the 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry “Rough Riders”. Aside from fulfilling the need for teachers and administrators, their purpose was to establish the new public school system, replace the Army teachers, teach basic education, and train Filipino teachers to eventually take over the teaching assignments.

American teachers left a legacy in the Philippines. Argued to be the best things that America did during the war was reforming the public school system. The system was built on solid academics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Many of the improvements were accomplished at the personal level. Dr. David P. Barrows, superintendent of schools in Manila, advocated for education to be a pathway towards a profession other than just employment. He also established a test-based scholarship system for Filipinos to study in the US and return back to the Philippines to assume teaching duties. This program was known as “The Pensionados Program” (reference Aug 1903). The Pensionados would eventually lead the way to solve the teacher shortage and replace American teachers within the school system.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ David Galula. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Greenwood, 1964, p 62.

⁵⁵ Napoleon Casambre. “The Impact of American Education in the Philippines.” *Educational Perspectives* 21, no. 4: p 7. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/47216>. Constitution for English as an official language.

Some of the school material from the US was more appropriate for teaching American children. Another Thomasite, Mary Fey amended the material so that Filipino boys and girls could better understand what they were learning. Mary E. Polley, also a pioneering educator, helped start the Iloilo Normal School in 1902. It later became the Iloilo National High School and the West Visayas State University. She served as the President of the Philippine Normal School.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the program was marked with many deaths attributed to disease, harsh environment, and banditry. Eventually, the program ended as more Filipino teachers replaced the Thomasites. *Influence, IE, Communication*

April to September 1901: To train teachers in teaching primary education and to supply the school system with qualified teachers, the Department of Instruction organized the Philippine Normal School.⁵⁷ Before its official opening, teachers from all over the Philippines arrived in Manila to attend a one month preliminary term on April 1901. It was expected that 350 students would enroll in the school's first term, but a total of 450 enrolled on opening day. The Philippine Normal School, the first American college, opened on 1 September 1901 admitting qualified students to undergo studies in the profession of education. *IE, Influence*

October 1901: Due to the lack of supplies, funding and bad communication with the Department of Instruction in Manila, some schools were in danger of closing. Filipinos were adamant about keeping the schools open that they donated municipal offices as classrooms.

⁵⁶ The Philippine Genealogical Society Online, "Bios of Notable Thomasites." AngKangPilipino. <https://angkangpilipino.wordpress.com/2011/06/21/bios-of-notable-thomasites/>, (Accessed 30 March 2020).

⁵⁷ Encarnacion Alzona. *A History of Education in the Philippines: 1565-1930*. Manila, Univ of Philippine Press, 1932, p 214.

Storekeepers also extended credit to teachers.⁵⁸ This suggests the importance Filipinos placed on education. *Influence*

August 1903: Hundreds of Filipino teachers were sent to the US to receive training and to further their profession. The US Director of Education used Act 74 to offer scholarships to Filipino teachers. They were called Pensionados because upon their completion of studies in America, they would return as teachers to their school system. Many of the Pensionados served as leading members and administrators of the Philippine school system.⁵⁹ According to Napoleon J. Casambre, the Filipino teachers who returned had a more enduring effect than the American teachers in the school system of the Philippines. In the preceding years, education exploded and literacy nearly doubled. By 1939, 25 percent of the population could speak English making it the most spoken form of communication than any dialect on the island.⁶⁰

Influence, IE

⁵⁸ American Contribution to Philippine Education: 1898 – 1998 (Manila: The Philippine Free Press, 1920), p 8.

⁵⁹ American Contribution to Philippine Education: 1898 – 1998 (Manila: The Philippine Free Press, 1920), p 12.

⁶⁰ “Philippines, The Period of US Influence.” Encyclopedia Britannica.

<https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines/The-period-of-U-S-influence> (Accessed 30 March 2020).

Discussion

As changes within the Philippine education unfolded over time, the data demonstrates that there were four overarching concepts that were dominant during the course of the war. All four concepts contributed to countering the insurgency. These concepts were influence, communication, intensity of effort, and control. The effectiveness of these concepts can be measured indirectly by three arguments: the population's acceptance of the school system, the adoption of the English language, and the active participation within the colonial government. Thus, the null hypothesis can be rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis that education established by the United States contributed to the counter-insurgency efforts against the insurgents during the Philippine-American War.

Influence

Through descriptive analysis, two schools of thought regarding the use of education during the war were discovered. True to COIN principles, the military used education as a means to pacify the population. Its intent was to prevent the mobilization of popular support to the insurgency. This can be confirmed by two data points: Army officers using education as an instrument of pacification and as an appendage of military operations.^{61, 62}

The other school of thought from the Taft Commission was using education to prepare the Filipinos towards self-governance and independence. The second commission effectively provided education to the people in order to create a Filipino citizen capable of self-governance.

When the transition from military to civilian rule occurred (16 March 1900), there was a shift in the purpose for propagating education throughout the Philippines. Taft pushed for more

⁶¹ Glenn M. Anthony. *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aim Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy 1900 – 1913*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980, p 79.

⁶² Christopher M. Redgraves. "African American Soldiers in the Philippine War: An Examination of the Contributions of Buffalo Soldiers during the Spanish-American War and its Aftermath, 1898-1902." PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2017, p 60.

education reforms. The system was reorganized to provide better management of Commission's objectives. The military teachers were replaced by civilian teachers from the US. The tempo of support seemed to increase. English became mandatory in the school system. More resources were available as schools became numerous. Financial support was organized at the district level. More teachers were trained by the Americans and hired from the population. The Philippine Normal School, America's first college in the Philippines was established to train teachers.

With the help of education, Filipinos succeeded into civil service of the colonial government. They also ran for offices and slowly replaced the Americans. This was called Filipinization – the inclusion of Filipinos into the colonial government. Filipinization eventually led to the transformation of the colonial legislature consisting of Filipinos who were directly elected by the population. In 1903, the colonial government consisted of 51 percent American civil service workers. In 1913, they represented 29 percent. Only 6 percent of the civil service workers were Americans in 1923.⁶³ The Filipinos dominated the legislative and judicial branch of the government in 1916.

By 1913, President of the United States Woodrow Wilson elected five Filipinos to the Philippine Commission. The first time the Filipinos had the majority of representation in the commission. Filipinization rapidly increased in the civil service between 1913 and 1921. In 1913, there were 2,623 Americans and 6,363 Filipino officials. By 1921, there were 13,240 Filipino and 614 American officials.⁶⁴ The last American who served in the governor-general's

⁶³ "Philippines, The Period of US Influence." Encyclopedia Britannica.

<https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines/The-period-of-U-S-influence> (Accessed 30 March 2020).

⁶⁴ Frederica M. Bunge. 1984. *Philippines: A Country Study*. Ebook. Washington, D.C. US Govt Printing Office. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x001641816> p 31.

cabinet was the head of the Department of Instruction, suggesting the importance of this post.⁶⁵ The Philippines received independence from the United States in 1946.⁶⁶

Though there were two distinct reasons of using education, both resulted in influencing the population to choose a life under colonial rule, participate in the civil services of the colony and to hold offices within the government. Furthermore, education through the English language helped separate current and future generations of Filipinos from the insurgency by empowering them to govern themselves. Also, the colonial government gained legitimacy in the eyes of the population since they themselves were part of it.

Communication

An important COIN concept discussed earlier was communication. Galula stated that if the counter-insurgent could not communicate with the population, the mission would fail. Analysis of the observations has shown that English was enforced within the American-led school system as a common language and used to speed up pacification of the population. Education and particularly English provided opportunities for employment, social mobility, and professional growth. However, learning English to many Filipinos was not easy.

In 1925, the Philippine Commission conducted a study on the efficacy of colonial schools. They found that English was a difficult language for many to learn.⁶⁷ This was most likely because the assessment was set up to test at American student standards. Nonetheless, by

⁶⁵ “Philippines, The Period of US Influence.” Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines/The-period-of-U-S-influence> (Accessed 30 March 2020).

⁶⁶ Napoleon Casambre. “The Impact of American Education in the Philippines.” *Educational Perspectives* 21, no. 4: 7-15. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/47216>.

⁶⁷ Renato Constantino. (Accessed 30 March 2020) “The Miseducation of Filipino.” <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/7735/865e2ea8fd8d9662f3916ffe41cc14376706.pdf>

1930, 35% of the population was literate in English making the Philippines the most English literate country in all of SE Asia.⁶⁸

The US curriculum was able to communicate the ideals and values of democracy to Filipino students. These values were also communicated non-verbally through the personality and work ethics of American teachers. As Filipino teachers who were trained in the US returned to the Philippines, they became agents of the American school system and represented its ideals to their students.

Intensity of Effort

Analysis of the observations shows that the Americans used education as they intensified their effort to provide services to the population. For instance before hostilities started, 4,000 children were enrolled in 39 American public schools⁶⁹. Superintendent of Instruction, Chaplain William McKinnon (1st California Volunteer Regiment) later spearheaded more school projects and began to hire more teachers. However, the policy was to establish schools but only in areas that fell under American control.

As American forces gained new ground, the number of schools, supplies, and teachers increased. To keep up with maintaining the school system the second Philippine Commission created the Department of Public Instruction. It reorganized the schools to provide better management and logistical coordination. To keep up with the demand for English speaking teachers, the Commission exported teachers and trained Filipinos to teach.

The Concentration Plan enabled COIN efforts to operate more efficiently. Civil service programs such as schools were established and function more effectively under the protection of

⁶⁸ Vincent L. Rafael. *Motherless Tongues: The Insurgency of Language amid Wars and Translation*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2016, p 46-58.

⁶⁹ American Contribution to Philippine Education: 1898 – 1998 (Manila: The Philippine Free Press, 1920), p 1-5.

the Army. The Bureau of Education was able to allocate and manage precious educational resources to these concentrated areas.

Control

The analysis of the data shows that teaching English in the colonial system was a necessity for the Americans to manage and control the population. The Philippines, an island with a myriad of tribes, languages, and over 7,000 sub islands would have been a greater challenge for American forces to manage had it not been for the institutionalization of a common language. This is not to say that all Filipinos in the entire archipelago were taught and replaced their native language with English, but under American control, English was the common language amongst educated Filipinos and the class of elites within the colonial system. For instance, the school system used English as a medium of instruction, and it was the common language between Americans and Filipinos working in the colonial government.

In an attempt to control the population support for the colonial system, education was used as an instrument of reward. Villages that had proven their loyalty to the colonial government were rewarded with civil services such as education. Large villages that were pacified became garrisoned and received more resources including American teachers such as the Thomasites. Education established by the Department of Instruction tied Filipinos to the colonial government. Teachers within the American public school system delivered a curriculum that espoused democracy, self-worth, and the civic responsibilities to the government which likely indoctrinated generations and engineered student consent of colonial acceptance.

It is likely that the school system had attendance records of the student's names and family. These records could provide census information such as family ties and relationships. Such information is important in controlling the population during counter-insurgency.

Implications of Education in Today's Insurgencies

Administering schools in today's COIN environment should be done by the local government and not by external entities. However, the extent of support from foreign forces should go only as far as financial and the material needs of the schools. This should also include assistance to cabinet level officials on best practice methods such as administration and school management.

One of the central ideals in today's COIN environment was to empower the host government and to help establish their credibility in the eyes of the population. Money, school supplies, and building material that were purchased by the US were usually delivered through the host government's national forces, e.g. Iraq Police (IP), ANA (Afghan National Army), or PC (Philippine Constabulary). This was done so that the "face" of the host government whether it is the police, army, or any official representative, could be seen as the source of that support.

In Afghanistan and Iraq, supporting schools was within the US commander's lines of effort. The reason was to help pacify the population and gained their support. Funding came from sources such as the Commanders Emergency Response Program (CERP), USAID, NGOs, and private donations. An allotted amount of funds were authorized by the Department of Defense to be used by the commander for expenditures related to humanitarian relief and reconstruction requirements. Schools that were supported were within the commander's area of responsibility.

National, cultural, and custom sensitivities are other reasons why foreign forces such as the US should not run school systems in today's COIN environment. Today's insurgencies in which the US has been involved in have been in areas that are Islamic. The potential for cultural misunderstandings in the curriculum and delivery of even basic academics are great. This would

give ample opportunities for insurgents to exploit which could result in strategic consequences. In addition, the safety and protection of foreign teachers in villages, kalays, or barrios are a concern. Local teachers and school girls particularly in Afghanistan have been attacked by insurgents simply because of their participation in school programs.

Conclusion

Based on the overall concepts of COIN, influence, communication, intensity of effort, and control; education contributed to America's counter-insurgency efforts during the Philippine-American War. Education was used to discourage Filipinos from taking up arms against the colonial government. It further separated the population for the insurrectionist cause by providing an opportunity for a better life, e.g. employment, profession, enlightenment.

Education was probably the best effort during the colonization of the Philippines because it promoted political democracy. The government of the Philippines had been designed under American leadership. The school system was mirrored after the American school system. The leaders of the Philippines continue to be democratically elected. It allowed for the poor to achieve social mobility and the teaching of English gave the Filipinos access to the Western culture.⁷⁰

The languages of English, Tagalog, Spanish, and Chinese were adopted in their constitution as official languages of the Philippines. Lastly, there were several data points that can attest to the effectiveness of American-led education in the Philippines. Letters from insurrectionist leaders were uncovered detailing their concern about the American programs of attraction. This included programs such as education. The Filipino people were "awakened" to

⁷⁰ "Philippines, The Period of US Influence." Encyclopedia Britannica.
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines/The-period-of-U-S-influence> (Accessed 30 March 2020).

the new opportunities that education provided them. This included employment, wealth, and professional growth.

Filipinos supported the colonial government by working as civil servants. They used education as a gateway to study and pass the civil servant examinations. Filipinos participated in the Pensionados program that professionalized the Filipino corps of teachers. They eventually took the mantle of leadership within the education system of the Philippines. Though several foreign nations, over a span of 100s of years, used education to influence the people of the Philippines, it ultimately helped the Filipino's plight towards the long and arduous road to independence.

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Curriculum Vita

Orrin H. Hasal is a candidate for the Masters of Arts program at the Johns Hopkins University, Global Security Studies Program. He served in the United States Marine Corps and United States Government. He is happily married to his wonderful wife, Belinda, who patiently helped him through countless research paper edits and long arduous deployments. They have two hairy children, Mino and Toto.